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1. The reform movement which has been taking place in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) during the past year has unexpectedly disclosed a general decline in enthusiasm among Party members, particularly among members of the middle and lower grades. An analysis of Party loyalty according to length of CCP membership leads to the following conclusions:
 - a. Persons who have been CCP members for less than two years generally show the strongest resoluteness in thought and the highest degree of enthusiasm for the Party and measures advocated by the Party. They are extremely interested in all problems facing the Party, and never question Party decisions.
 - b. Persons who have been CCP members for more than two years but less than five or six years generally have two different attitudes; some of them superficially maintain a progressive state of thought, although their real enthusiasm is waning, while others are inert, making no attempts at progress and, at times, approaching a state of numbness.
 - c. Persons who have been CCP members for more than five or six years, but less than 10 years generally have lost all their genuine enthusiasm, or are on the verge of losing it. On the other hand, they are acquiring an increasing degree of hypocrisy, and an extreme divergence appears between what they say and what they do.
 - d. Persons who have been CCP members for more than ten years, particularly those who have become important officials in local organizations such as regional, provincial and municipal committees, generally regard themselves as highly-qualified and experienced Party members who have

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worked long and hard and who have gained great merit. They expect their enthusiasm to be taken for granted, although they hope that younger CCP members will uphold and carry on enthusiasm for the Party.

- e. Persons who have been CCP members for 20 years or more are Party members of the highest caliber and standard of leadership; they are the most loyal and enthusiastic members of the Party and work hard for the good of the Party. However, they are few in number.

2. An analysis of Party loyalty according to class composition leads to the following conclusions:

- a. CCP Members drawn from the proletariat have the highest enthusiasm for collective life. However, at the present stage of Chinese social organization, not many CCP members come from this class. In fact, they are still in a position of being led instead of being the leaders.
- b. Members drawn from the petit bourgeois working class; such as workers in handicraft industries, etc., are generally unsteady and oscillating in thought.
- c. Members drawn from the peasantry generally show strong provincial conservatism; they favor nationalism and are unprepared to accept internationalism. Their enthusiasm for the Party is unsteady and desultory.
- d. Members who are intellectuals form a minority among the CCP membership; their class composition is decided according to whether they came from worker or peasant families, although they have been disassociated in actual life from workers or peasants for a long time. Their enthusiasm for the Party also varies.
 - (1) The top leaders of the CCP are almost entirely intellectuals, and they are also the most enthusiastic CCP members.
 - (2) Leaders of regional bureaus and other first-grade Party organizations and of provincial and municipal committees and other second-grade Party organizations are largely intellectuals. Some workers or peasants may hold these positions, but they usually have become contaminated by the bourgeois idiosyncrasy of the intellectuals. They still have a certain degree of enthusiasm for the Party, but that enthusiasm is usually tied up with their own personal interests.
 - (3) Medium-grade political workers generally hope to attain higher positions in the Party, although their enthusiasm is waning. Consequently, sectarianism (shan t'ou chu i 1472/7333/0031/5030) has begun to develop among them; many local groups which aim at consolidating or raising the positions of their adherents have appeared, one after the other, in many areas.
 - (4) Only a minority of CCP members classed as intellectuals fall into the above three categories; the majority can be classified into the following patterns, all of which indicate a decline or disappearance of enthusiasm: (a) those who are contented, and show neither achievements nor faults; (b) those who submit to the dictates of fate; (c) those who try to improve their position by joining the sects; (d) those who are individualists attempting to improve their own standard of living; (e) those who indulge in academic studies according to their individual capabilities; and (f) those who regard the Party lightly but attend to government duties seriously.

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3. The central CCP authorities have gradually become aware of the above attitudes during the past six months; although they have issued no direct instructions to meet the problem, they are taking the following steps:¹
 - a. Expelling all CCP members who have lost their enthusiasm for the Party, irrespective of their length of membership in the Party.
 - b. Uprooting sectarianism. Leaders of sects will be expelled from the Party, and their followers will be reformed.
 - c. Taking measures to maintain a high degree of tension within the Party, launching campaign after campaign which will contribute to the rise of tension as a continuous process.
4. The CCP central authorities realize that passive encouragement for the intellectuals to support the views of the working class is unreliable. They understand that the basic solution to the whole problem is to increase the number of industrial workers in the ranks of the CCP. This will be done partially by adopting a policy to industrialize farming and to nationalize industry.

Comment. These probably are steps which the CCP leaders have in mind, but which have not yet been formalized as definite instructions or orders.

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